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ABSTRACT

Hispanic business ownership has existed in Tucson, Arizona since before 1854, when legislation allowed the federal government to acquire the city and surrounding territory. Ranching and agriculture were primary sources of income for early Hispanic settlers but they also were able to diversify into other economic sectors. As Hispanics became integrated into American society, minority business ownership patterns changed. Starting in the 20th century, Mexican Americans tended to operate mostly service industry businesses, such as barber shops and grocery stores. There were a few Hispanic lawyers and doctors, but their numbers were small in comparison to the growing Mexican-American and Anglo populations. The Great Depression of the 1930s negatively affected the agriculturally oriented Hispanic families. By the 1940s, more Mexican Americans and Anglos were arriving, looking for employment. By the 1980s, the trend toward service-sector jobs was evident in Tucson. Most of the 20 Hispanic entrepreneurs interviewed for this study were first- or second-generation Tucsonians. The pioneer Hispanic families were no longer at the forefront of business opportunities. Instead, some of the offspring from these families were attracted to other enterprises. Current Hispanic owners' indecision as to whether they want their children to enter the family business indicates the possibility that some of these establishments may someday change hands. A continuing cycle of Hispanic "latecomers" operating businesses may develop in the Tucson area, resulting in the possible lack of a solid economic base for the Hispanic business community. (Author/TES)

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Melissa Amado
University of Arizona

No. 14
July, 1988

Working Paper Series

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Melissa Amado
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DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to the memory of my great-uncle, Arthur Washington Jacobs, who passed away January 13, 1988. He contributed some interesting antidotes on various Hispanics who are written about in the following pages. He can only be described as a fountain of knowledge concerning the history of Tucson.

Editor's Note: This working paper represents an evolutionary process of research experiences for Ms. Melissa Amado. She was a recipient of an Undergraduate Research Award competition sponsored within the Office of Research at the University of Arizona. She worked with a faculty mentor in the implementation of the project on Hispanic business and participated in a University-wide conference to present her results. We encouraged Ms. Amado to develop further her paper. The current result is a well-documented and informative research work that contributes to the knowledge of Hispanics in Arizona. Hopefully, other students can proceed along a similar research path and be able to disseminate the results of their works.

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ABSTRACT

Hispanic ownership of businesses has existed in Tucson prior to the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, which allowed the United States to acquire Tucson and part of Southern Arizona. Although ranching and agriculture were main sources of income for this group of pioneer settlers, they were able to diversify their wealth into other sectors of the economy. As the Hispanic population became integrated into American society, an evolution of minority identity towards business ownership occurred. Starting in the twentieth century, Mexican Americans tended to operate mostly in the service industry, such as barber shops and grocery stores. There were a few Hispanic lawyers and doctors. However, their numbers were small in comparison to the growing Mexican American and Anglo populations.

The Great Depression of the 1930s affected many of these agriculturally oriented Hispanic families. By the 1940s, more Mexican Americans and Anglos were arriving to the area in search of employment. By the 1980s, a trend was evident of a service sector economy for the Tucson labor market. Most of the twenty Hispanic entrepreneurs interviewed for this study were first or second generation Tucsonans. The pioneer Hispanic families are no longer at the forefront of business opportunities. Instead, some of the offspring from these pioneer families have gone into other fields or enterprises in order to develop their own entrepreneurial identity. Some of the interviewees that are descendants of these "latecomers," are undecided as to whether they want their children to enter the family business. As a consequence, some of these establishments may end in the next twenty to thirty years. A cycle of continual Hispanic "latecomers" operating businesses may develop in the Tucson area. The consequence could be the lack of a solid economic base for the Hispanic business community.

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HISPANIC BUSINESSES IN TUCSON SINCE 1854

INTRODUCTION

The groundwork for the economic development of Tucson can be traced back to the trading of early Indians and then later to the Spanish settlers in the eighteenth century. As a frontier territory for the Spanish and Mexican governments, Tucson became a settlement developed by Hispanic ranchers. The ranching industry generated the need for businesses, such as butcher shops and dry goods stores. Some of these Hispanic ranchers of the nineteenth century were able to trade with people in Mexico, especially in the state of Sonora. Often, a network of marriages between these more prominent ranching oriented families allowed for strong business ties to develop. An example of these Hispanic ranching affiliated families connected by various marriages were the Aguirre, Amado, Aros, Carrillo, Elias, Gil, Robles and the Celaya family of Atil, Sonora. The Peyrón and Otero families were also prominent Tucson residents (Mexican Heritage Project, 1983).

This paper will consist of both historical and current business data on Hispanic individuals in the Tucson area. In analyzing this data, a pattern is emerging. Ranching and agriculture oriented pioneer families have diversified into other businesses and sectors of the economy. Some of these "latecomers" prefer that their children attain a higher education rather than continue the family business. The impact on the Hispanic business community will be a pattern of continual recent arrivals to Tucson and movement away from agriculture and ranching.

With the Gadsden Purchase of 1854 the Tucson area became a part of the United States. Tucson experienced changes due to the arrival of "the Anglos." The early Anglos male newcomers to the area married into some of these prominent Hispanic families. The intermingling of Anglos and Hispanics created new family lines, such as the Brady, Corbett, Hughes, Jacobs and Tully families. These families and other English surnamed families have assimilated into both the Hispanic and Anglo communities. In contemporary Tucson, it is now difficult to distinguish between the Anglo and the original Hispanic families, unless the family genealogy is known.

The establishment of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1880 once again changed the face of Tucson. More people from other parts of the world arrived in the area and this had an impact on Hispanic businesses. The economic development from a predominantly Mexican to Anglo/Mexican

owned businesses resulted with the addition of non-Hispanic money. However, many of the more prominent Hispanics were able to continue in various sectors of the economy. Although Tucson businesses were expanding, the main source of income was still from ranching and agriculture. The Great Depression of the 1930s had a severe impact on many of the agricultural oriented families and their businesses. Many Mexican American families lost their farms and ranches. To help alleviate the alleged financial burdens of the Hispanic community members, the Associated Charities organization offered to provide transportation for Mexicans going to the border (Sonnichsen, 1981). Despite the perceived threat to the welfare relief programs, many Mexican Americans continued to live in Tucson and operate their businesses.

Since the 1940s, Tucson has experienced a change in its economic base. The copper mines south of Tucson, the establishment of an International Business Machines plant, Hughes Aircraft facility and the expansion of Davis Monthan Air Force Base, as well as the University of Arizona, have influenced the economy of Tucson. The establishment of these large operations has attracted more people into the area. The need for inexpensive labor has caused the expansion of a "cheap" labor source. A trend has occurred in the Hispanic community, which has been of continual growth due to recent immigrants from other areas seeking employment opportunities. The economic sector with the greatest amount of job growth was in service industries. Some of the business owners in contemporary Tucson are descendants of Mexican Americans who arrived in the 1930s and 1940s. The most influential Hispanics today are not members of the pioneer Hispanic families.

DEVELOPMENT OF HISPANIC BUSINESS

The development of an ethnic business community has occurred among various minority groups in the United States. As new arrivals to an area, immigrants tend to depend on each other for continuance of ethnic goods and services (Waldringer, 1986). Small ethnic businesses developed and depended on their minority community as their clientele. As the minority group becomes integrated into American society, ethnic owned establishments must attract more non-minority customers in order to compete with non-minority owned businesses. The development of the Mexican American business community in Tucson has also evolved around the expansion of the city's both Anglo and non-Anglo population. Most Hispanic firms have a diversified clientele in order to compete in the

business world.

The growth of the Hispanic population has increased tremendously; yet the number of Mexican American owned business has increased only slightly in certain business sectors. Overall, the proportion of these minority enterprises is small due to the continued expansion of the Anglo population in the business fields of Tucson. A sample of twenty business people were interviewed from a variety of occupations during 1987 and early part of 1988. They provided information on their personal family history, such as their families' arrival into Tucson. A few of these interviewees were members of some pioneer Hispanic families. Tucson City Directories, starting from 1912, were also used to achieve the Spanish surnamed business owners ratios. I will trace Hispanic business development with two time periods, 1854 to 1911 and 1912 to 1987.

TERRITORIAL TUCSON: 1854 TO 1911

Even though Tucson joined the United States in 1854, Mexican troops remained in the presidio until 1856. A sense of identification with Mexico existed among the Mexican American population. Ties, whether business or family, linked many Hispanics with Mexicans in the state of Sonora. Trade routes existed between Tucson and various towns in Mexico, such as Guaymas, Hermosillo and Atil. A variety of businesses in Tucson used these routes to provide goods for the rest of the United States. The U.S. government contracts for supplies in various forts was also a lucrative business for some Hispanic entrepreneurs.

In 1854, the main industries in Tucson were agriculture and ranching. Some large ranches existed that were owned by a few Hispanic families. Cattle could be purchased in Sonora and brought to Tucson. In turn, the U.S. cattlemen could sell these animals at a profit in the United States. Granted, the cattle industry had its good and bad times; it remained a strong industry for Tucson in the early years as a U.S. territory.

The transportation of goods was a form of business that attracted some Hispanics into freighting. For example, Estevan Ochoa formed a mercantile firm with Pedro Aguirre in New Mexico. In 1859, Ochoa formed another partnership with Pinckney Tully, whose wife was Mexican. Their firm was Tully, Ochoa & Company, which freighted goods from Guaymas to Tucson and as far as Philadelphia (Meir & Rivera, 1972; Sheridan, 1986). This company was highly successful until the

Southern Pacific Railroad arrived in 1880 and it could not compete with a larger and faster transportation mode. Another partner of Ochoa's was Genaro Manzo (Webb-Vignery, 1985). These two partners were involved in a contracting operation, a saloon and a grocery store. When Ochoa died, Manzo eventually went into a partnership with Carlos Jácome.

Estevan Ochoa was able to use his position in the business sector to help other Mexican Americans, as well as the larger community. For example, in 1875, he was elected Mayor of Tucson and president of the Tucson School Board (Plaza of the Pioneers, 1982). To date, he has been the only Mexican American to hold the mayoral position. Ochoa also served in various territorial legislative assemblies during the 1860s and 1870s (Sheridan, 1986). He donated land for the first public school building, the Congress Street School. Tully, Ochoa & Company also hauled the lumber from Fort Grant free of charge for the school building (Hilzinger, 1897).

The Aguirre Brothers, who came from New Mexico, were Epifano, Pedro, Conrado, Mariano and Yjinio. They were involved in a variety of enterprises, ranging from freighting to ranching and even operating a stagecoach line. The brothers operated ranches in the Avra Valley area and near the town of Sasabe. Eventually, one of the family members, H. B. Aguirre, owned S. P. Meat Market (Tucson City Directory, 1912, 1914). The movement towards owning a meat market probably resulted from the families' ranching activities. The Aguirre Brothers were able to run a profitable business. When Pedro passed away in 1907, his estate was valued at more than $10,000, according to his will (Arizona Heritage Center file).

Manuel Amado arrived in the Tucson area in the 1850s. He was in the business of freighting dry goods and livestock. Eventually, Amado was enlisted by the U.S. government to transport grain from Saric, Sonora to Fort Lowell (Martin, 1983). He established himself as a rancher with property along the Santa Cruz River, near the San Xavier Mission to Elephant Peak, and south towards Nogales, Arizona. By 1879, he operated a store on Meyer street in the business district of Tucson (Amado, Antonio File-Arizona Cattle Log, 1955). In various city directories, the 80-100 block of Meyer street was listed as Amado Block. In 1881, his family home and dairy farm were destroyed by U.S. government agents in order to establish the San Xavier Indian Reservation (Arizona Heritage Center File; Martin, 1983; Sheridan, 1986). Amado established himself on another part of his vast

landholdings near the present site of the town of Amado, where he continued his ranching activities and other business ventures. The Amado's were able to expand their investments by purchasing real estate in Tucson. For example, a Tucson city block (East 15th street) was owned by the family for townhomes in the early 1900s (Tucson Citizen, October 18, 1984; Robles, Clementina, 1988). Later, Manuel became a partner with Maish and Driscoll, a hotel establishment firm, which was also a cattle operation with ties in Sonora and Arizona (Arizona Heritage Center File). Upon Manuel's death in 1904, his ten children inherited his ranches and other properties in the city (Martin, 1983).

Antonio Amado, son of Manuel, was a highly successful businessman. He operated a large ranch in Amado and later became an investor with his brother Manuel II in the Tucson Bottling Company. As a rancher, he would purchase cattle in Atil, Sonora to import to the United States. According to the business journal of Salvador Celaya, a Sonoran cattleman and businessman, Antonio was purchasing cattle from him as early as 1903. In the month of October, 1903, he had purchased over $736 worth of cattle (Celaya business/personal journal dating from 1882 to 1907).

The Otero family were the recipients of a land grant in the Tubac area. Sabino, the eldest, raised his younger siblings while running the family ranch and hauling freight. The ranching empire of the Otero brothers, Sabino and Teófilo, allowed them to diversify their wealth into real estate. The profits from the Tubac ranch allowed the family to purchase several ranches located throughout the Tucson basin. The Otero ranches eventually stretched from Casa Grande to near the Mexican border (Arizona Heritage Center File).

As Sabino and Teófilo worked together as a business unit, they started to broaden their investments. Real estate in Tucson and in Nogales (Arizona) attracted the Otero brothers, which resulted in a real estate empire. Upon Sabino's death, in 1914, his estate was valued at over $308,000 (Arizona Heritage Center; Sheridan, 1986). According to Teófilo's will in 1941, his estate was valued at almost $228,000. Most of Teófilo's holdings were real estate in Tucson. Ranching for the Otero family provided the economic base which allowed them to expand into another sector of the economy.

The Elias family ranch was located near the Otero and Amado ranches. Juan Elias and his family were involved in a variety of businesses. For example, Perfecto was one of the first jewelers

in town (Arizona Heritage Center File, Tucson City Directory, 1912). A business alliance was formed among Manuel Amado, Juan Elias, Sabino and Teófilo Otero in 1883. Mr. Santee, a buyer from California, offered $25 per head for 1,000 head of cattle. At the time, the price per head of cattle was $10. The cattle were delivered and the cattlemen received their money at a substantial profit (Amado, Antonio File-Arizona Cattle Log, 1955).

Another prominent businessman and rancher was Bernabe Robles. Throughout his lifetime, he operated a stagecoach line, a dairy farm, a grocery store, a saloon, various ranches and owned substantial real estate in Tucson (Sheridan, 1986; Robles, George, 1988). Robles was considered as one of the largest ranchers in Southern Arizona, owning more than a million acres of land (Sheridan, 1986). His interests in a dairy farm and a grocery store could be linked to his ranching activities.

When Bernabe passed away in 1945, his estate was valued at almost $300,000 (Sheridan, 1986). In preparing for his death, Bernabe had his son, Carlos, a prominent attorney, determine the inheritance tax. Carlos told his father that the tax would be $65,000. As a result, Bernabe kept this amount in a safe for years before he died (Robles, Clementina, 1988). The irony to this story, is that when his grandchild, June Robles was kidnapped in 1934, he refused to pay the $15,000 ransom. Instead, the ransom money of $10,000 was raised by the family members and the community (Arizona Daily Star, October 26, 1983). June was found alive after being buried in the desert in eastern Tucson for nineteen days. She was rescued by her uncle, Carlos, and Pima County Attorney C.E. Houston (Sonnichsen, 1981).

The Carrillo family was also involved in ranching and a variety of businesses. In 1870, Leopoldo, the family patriarch, was an entrepreneur considered to be the wealthiest man in Tucson (Sheridan, 1986). He is credited for the early land development of Tucson. Carrillo held an assortment of real estate and other operations in the town.

Many of Leopoldo's descendants reside in the Tucson area and are successful entrepreneurs. For example, his son Arturo established the Tucson Undertaking Company in 1913. This establishment is now known as Tucson Mortuary and is managed by Leopoldo Carrillo III. The longevity of this enterprise has been recognized and honored. The Tucson Minority Business Development Center provided the firm an outstanding minority business award for operating more

than 75 years as a family business (Arizona Daily Star, October 7, 1987; Tucson Minority Business Development Center, 1987).

Federico Ronstadt started the Federico Ronstadt Company in 1888 (Norman, 1952). Ronstadt was involved in a variety of businesses in Arizona and Mexico, as well as owning several ranches. He also sold wagons, carriages and farm implements from his headquarters in Tucson. His talents were also diversified to include the selling and repairing of automobiles in the early 1900s (Tucson City Directory, 1912, 1914).

The Ronstadt family has been able to continue the tradition of doing business on both sides of the border. Although the downtown Tucson Ronstadt store closed in 1985, the Ronstadts are still in business. Michael and his sister, Linda, started the M. J. Ronstadt Company, selling farm equipment in Mexico and Arizona. The Ronstadt family also received the outstanding minority business award for operating a family business for more than 75 years (Tucson Minority Business Development Center, 1987).

The Washington Jacobs family has been a part of history in both Mexico and Arizona. The Jacobs family arrived in the Tucson area in 1880 and started the Jacobs Assay Office (Jacobs, 1987). This family business continues to be operated by Washington's great-grandchildren. As an assay office, this firm has been involved in developing mines throughout Arizona and Mexico. For example, the price of an assay by the University of Arizona in 1879 cost between fifty cents to a dollar fifty (Hilzinger, 1897). Now, the cost of making an assay by the Jacobs is about ten dollars (Tucson Minority Business Development Center, 1987). Some of the family members have attained a higher level of education in order to apply new techniques to surveying. For example, Arthur Jacobs, the grandson of Washington, was a graduate of the University of Arizona (1927), where he majored in metallurgy (Jacobs, 1987; Arizona Daily Star, January 16, 1988). Mining for many years was a major industry for the economy of Arizona. The discovery and development of ore rich land was of ten surveyed by the Jacobs. Arthur Jacobs in 1929, held the original claims on the San Manuel copper mine (Arizona Daily Star, January 16, 1988). An outstanding minority business award for more than 75 years as a family enterprise was presented to the Jacobs Assay Office (Tucson Minority Business Development Center, 1987).

Some of the successful ranching families, such as the Aros, Gil, and Peyrón, had businesses that were generated by their ties with the cattle industry and agriculture. In 1912, Teófilo and Estevan Aros operated the Junction Meat Market (Tucson City Directory, 1912). Rafael Peyrón owned the Peyrón Meat Market (Tucson City Directory, 1912, 1914). The Peyrón Grocery was owned by Mrs. Clotilde Peyrón and existed for many years (Tucson City Directory, 1912, 1914, 1920, 1930). Demetrio Gil and his partner R. M. Pacho established Gil and Pacho Groceries (Tucson City Directory, 1912, 1914). These families used their ties to ranching to diversify into other fields of business enterprises. Carlos Velasco was a man with the ability to share his thoughts with others. He was aware of the political turmoil in Sonora and the need for Mexican Americans to express themselves in the United States. In 1878, El Fronterizo, a Spanish language newspaper, was started by Velasco (Sheridan, 1986). He continued the newspaper until 1914. Although two other Spanish language periodicals, La Luz and Las Dos Repúblicas challenged El Fronterizo before 1900, it remained the most successful (Hilzinger, 1897). In order for the paper to be printed, Velasco required help in running the manual printing presses. He would hire children, who would play near his office, to operate the presses and then deliver the newspapers for twenty-five cents (Jacobs, 1987).

Velasco is also credited with founding the Alianza Hispano-Americana, a fraternal organization, in 1894 (Sheridan, 1986). The group was originally formed by many prominent Hispanics in Tucson. As an organization that offered disability, medical insurance and death benefits it attracted large numbers of Mexican Americans to join. Lodges were established throughout the West, as far North as Wyoming, and also in the Northern frontier states of Mexico (U of A Special Collections Uncatalogued material see box number 71).

The organization was highly active and able to collect membership fees to sponsor various projects. An insurance component existed within the club that established zones for lodges to sell insurance by the 1940s. For example, on December 31, 1922, the report to the Insurance Department of the State of Arizona listed assets at over $295,000 (U of A Special Collections Uncatalogued material see box number 71). According to The Fraternal Monitor, the Alianza Hispano-Americana was listed with assets of over $1.2 million in 1945 and was considered among the twenty most

wealthiest fraternal orders in the United States (U of A Mexican American Studies and Research Center Uncatalogued material see box number 2). Despite the Alianza's accumulated wealth, internal disputes caused it to ended in 1965. This organization has to be credited as being a strong force in helping Mexican Americans and Mexicans on both sides of the border.

The Brena brothers, Ramón and Rosario, were successful businessmen, who operated in both Mexico and the United States. Rosario started the Brena Commercial Company in the early 1890s (Hilzinger, 1897). This enterprise dealt in a variety of wholesale and retail goods (Hilzinger, 1897). Ramón operated the R. R. Brokerage Company which marketed produce for several years (Tucson City Directory, 1912, 1914, and 1920). The Brenas were able to use their ties with people in two nations in order to succeed in business.

Carlos Jácome came with his mother and younger siblings to Tucson in 1881 (Webb-Vignery, 1985). He started La Bonanza store with his partner Loreto Carrillo in 1896 (Jácome, Alexander File; Sheridan, 1986). Genaro Manzo bought Carrillo out of his partnership in 1903. Manzo later sold his share of the business back to Jácome in 1913 (Sheridan, 1986; Webb-Vignery, 1985). Carlos changed the name to C.C. Jácome in 1914 (Tucson City Directory, 1914). Later, the name evolved into Jácome's Department Store.

The store remained a family business which was highly successful for many years under the operation of Alexander Jácome after his father's death in 1932. Alexander and his family purchased a house in the El Encanto estates, an exclusive Tucson neighborhood area. They were only one of three Spanish-surnamed families in this area (Robles, George, 1988). Later, Alexander Jr. took over the store after his father passed away. He closed the store in 1980 (Webb-Vignery, 1985). Currently, the Jácome descendants are involved in various occupations and businesses, such as real estate and land development.

Tucson, between the years 1854 to 1911, depended mostly on the development of ranching and agriculture as an economic base for diversification into other sectors of the economy. Interaction with businesses in Mexico proved to be essential for some Mexican American establishments. The freighting industry provided the opportunity for a few entrepreneurs to enter other fields of business.

The arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad enabled the transportation of both people and goods to flow in and out of Tucson. As the Tucson population started to expand, Mexican American businessmen were at first able to meet the demands of the growing Anglo population. However, they soon became the minority in the business world due to the increased competition from Anglo businessmen.

As more non-Hispanic people moved into the area, they brought with them "liquid" money that they were able to invest into businesses. The result, was the formation of new stores due to the newly arrived capital. Many Hispanic businessmen lacked sufficient money in order to compete with these new businessmen. The majority of these Hispanics were land rich which meant that their assets are not easily accessible. As a consequence, they lacked the liquid assets in order to compete in the changing business community of Tucson.

HISPANIC BUSINESSES FROM 1912 TO 1987

The growth of Tucson has been tremendous. In 1860, the total population was 925. The number of Hispanics was 653 or 70.6% of the total population (Sheridan, 1986). By 1986, the estimated Mexican American population was 126,500, only 21% of the total population (Hispanic Visions, 1986). The increased population has caused businesses to expand. The number of Hispanic owned enterprises has multiplied considerably. However, the overall ratio of Hispanic operations is small when compared to other non-Hispanics establishments. The economic impact of the Great Depression caused many people to leave their homes in other parts of the nation in search of employment. As a result, more immigrants, including Mexican Americans, started to arrive in Tucson. Between 1920 to 1940, the population grew from over 20,300 to approximately 36,800. This wave of new residents brought changes to the struggling business community. As the Depression came to an end, growth was in the future for Tucson.

The 1940s was the start of large corporations moving into the area. The Air Force base and the University of Arizona grew along with the establishment of these corporate facilities, such as Hughes Aircraft. A shift occurred in the Mexican American community. The need for an inexpensive labor force arose. Hispanics were the needed blue collar workers to fill the void of low paid employees. The ratios in the following pages reflect the lack of Hispanic professionals and business ownership.

The focus in this section of the paper shall be on the history of the people interviewed. An important aspect is to determine when their families arrived in the Tucson area. Another factor is the continuance of the business or profession beyond the current proprietor/professional. The use of a network system between establishments is also to be considered. Some of these networks are between Mexican American businesses or with non-Hispanic individuals. The use of an organization affiliation can be another link between business owners and their clientele.

City directories for Tucson date back to the early 1880s. These early attempts to record the listings of people and businesses were incomplete. For example, in the Tucson, Tombstone and Benson Directory of 1882-1884, the compilers stated the problems they encountered due to:

> "a considerable proportion of the population . . . composed of Mexicans and Spanish speaking people, many of whom are ignorant of the objects or utility of such a publication."

It appears that the compilers did not attempt to communicate with this group of non-English speakers in Spanish and therefore did not document a segment of the Hispanic community.

The use of Tucson City Directories provided information on Spanish surnamed professionals and business owners. The 1912 directory signifies the year of Arizona's statehood. From these listings, ratios between Spanish surnamed and other non-Spanish surnamed individuals could be documented. In most fields of business, the number of Mexican Americans is small. These areas include: accountants; licensed contractors; dentists; physicians; lawyers; and cosmetology.

The difficulty in documenting Hispanic ownership is the shift towards English names for businesses. In earlier editions of the city directories, most Mexican American establishments were listed with Spanish names. Also, there are some Mexican American owners and professionals who have non-Spanish surnames. The directories for 1912 and 1914 are an attempt to determine if any significant changes occurred after statehood. The only major change could be found in the field of contractors. As the field required more technical training, fewer Hispanic establishments are listed. Also, various fields have been regulated by state and local government thus causing changes for Hispanic enterprises. This may be due to the lack educational achievement that Mexican Americans have experienced.

An analysis of Spanish surnamed physicians between 1912 to 1980 can be documented by the Tucson City Directories from those years. The July 1987/1988 Tucson Mountain Bell Yellow Pages provided the most current listings for physicians. As the numbers reveal, Spanish surnamed physicians have increased in the Tucson area. However, this group is still small in proportion to the total number of non-Spanish surnamed doctors. Their actual numbers are small due to the rapid expansion of non- Spanish surnamed physicians.

PHYSICIANS

Spanish Surnamed			Non-Spanish Surnamed
1912	1	(5.0%)	20
1914	2	(9.1%)	22
1920	3	(13.6%)	22
1930	5	(9.6%)	52
1940	4	(3.7%)	108
1950	3	(1.9%)	160
1960	4	(1.6%)	249
1970	12	(4.3%)	279
1980	15	(3.2%)	474
1987	40	(4.0% approx.)	over 1000

Source: Tucson City Directory/Mountain Bell Yellow Pages.

Spanish surnamed dentists are highly under-represented in this field. The first Hispanic dentist to be listed in the Tucson City Directory selected for this study did not occur until 1940. The total amount of dentists has increased from 1912. However, the actual percent of Spanish surnamed dentists has not had a substantial change. The proportion of non-Spanish surnamed dentists has always been high. The possibility that unlicensed Mexican Americans may have been practicing

during the earlier years of this analysis is likely to have occurred.

DENTISTS

Spanish Surnamed			Non-Spanish Surnamed
1912	0	(0.0%)	6
1914	0	(0.0%)	6
1920	0	(0.0%)	7
1930	0	(0.0%)	17
1940	1	(3.2%)	31
1950	2	(4.9%)	41
1960	1	(0.9%)	104
1970	3	(2.3%)	130
1980	7	(3.2%)	219
1987	14	(3.6%)	383

Source: Tucson City Directory/Mountain Bell Yellow Pages.

The various fields of accounting have expanded in the Tucson area due to the demand from more businesses locating here. The figures denote Hispanics accountants from all fields of accounting. More accountants exist, but they are not listed individually in the directories independent of their firm. Only those Spanish surnamed Hispanics who are partners in a firm could be counted. The 1987 figure reflects three specific fields of accounting, which are: accountants (4:116), certified public accountants (6:237) and public accountants (2:5). The ratios in parenthesis reflect the number of Spanish surnamed professionals to the total number of accountants in that specific field.

ACCOUNTANTS

Spanish Surnamed			Non-Spanish Surnamed
1912	n/a		n/a
1914	0	(0.0%)	2
1920	0	(0.0%)	2
1930	0	(0.0%)	8
1940	0	(0.0%)	5
1950	0	(0.0%)	51
1960	1	(1.9%)	51
1970	2*	(6.0%)	30
1980	3**	(2.7%)	109
1987	12***	(3.3%)	358

Source: Tucson City Directory/Mountain Bell Yellow Pages.

--n/a- no listings for accountants in 1912. * denotes only Public accountants. ** denotes only 2 fields. *** figure includes three fields of accounting.

Lawyers are another field of professionals that Hispanics are lacking in proportion to non-Hispanic attorneys. The 1930 statistic is rather misleading. The reason, one Spanish surnamed attorney was practicing in Tucson. However, he was working for the local county government (see section on other professionals). Due to the large number of attorneys for 1987, an approximation was used once the count of non-Spanish surnamed individuals exceed one thousand.

LAWYERS

	Spanish Surnamed			Non-Spanish Surnamed
1912	2	(4.2%)		48
1914	1	(2.7%)		37
1920	0	(0.0%)		34
1930	0	(0.0%)		47
1940	4	(4.5%)		88
1950	3	(2.9%)		103
1960	6	(2.5%)		237
1970	8	(3.8%)		210
1980	9	(2.9%)		307
1987	41	(4.1% approx.)	over	1000

Source: Tucson City Directory/Mountain Bell Yellow Pages.

The contractors figures reflect the various fields of contracting. In this industry, the actual number of Hispanics operating is probably higher but they may not be licensed by the Registrar of Contractors for Arizona.

In 1987, the requirements for a construction related firm was changed. New restrictions were placed in order to help insure the quality of work by a contractor. The fees for a license varies from $135 to $800 (State of Arizona Registrar of Contractors, 1987). An examination is given covering the actual labor involved, as well as the financial records for a firm. These various

restrictions, monetary and educational, could be a deterrence for a Mexican American trying to operate within the legal limits of the law.

Inquiries to the local office of the Registrar of Contractors concerning the status of U.S. citizenship for an applicant, indicated that the legal guidelines were unclear. It took the State of Arizona Attorney General's Office to decide on this issue. According to Pat Pittman, of the local office for the Registrar of Contractors, U.S. citizenship is not required to take the exam. However, on the application form, an business owner is required to provide a federal tax number which requires U.S. citizenship.

CONTRACTORS

Spanish Surnamed			Non-Spanish Surnamed
1912	14	(21.0%)	26
1914	7	(25.0%)	28
1920	4	(18.2%)	22
1930	2	(2.8%)	70
1940	6	(9.1%)	66
1950	36	(8.2%)	439
1960	21	(6.0%)	349
1970	11	(4.2%)	263
1980	9	(3.6%)	248
1987	16*	(3.3%)	482

Source: Tucson City Directory/Mountain Bell Yellow Pages.

* Reflects only licensed general contractors.

A study using the Tucson City Directories is useful to comprehend the trend that Hispanic businesses are being started by different individuals. Seldom is the case for a business to be continued by the family. The proportion of Mexican American owned enterprises has been small in comparison to non-Hispanic establishments. Mexican Americans are lacking in the professional fields. Granted, more Hispanic professionals exist, but they do not have their own establishments or are major partners in a firm.

The people that were interviewed are from a diverse business background. Their longevity in the Tucson area varies from interviewee to interviewee. Some firms may remain in family control, but the majority of these firms may end in the next twenty to thirty years. One item that is common for most cases is the fact that the majority of owners do not want their children to continue with the

business. Instead, they want their children to seek other opportunities, such as having their own business. This leads to the conclusion that a cycle of continual Hispanic businesses will be established every year. The point being made is for each generation to establish their own identity of entrepreneurship rather than remain in a family business or seek other business (educational) opportunities now available in Tucson. The opportunity for diversification into other areas has been broaden for the next generation of business people.

Restaurants

Jules Flinn arrived in Tucson in the 1880s to work in St. Augustine's Cathedral. The Catholic Church needed a masterful artist to design the original stain glass windows. Flinn worked on various Church projects after the Cathedral was completed. Today, the original rose window he designed is at the Arizona Heritage Center (Flores, 1988).

His daughter Mónica started El Charro Restaurant in 1922. In 1927, she became partners with her sister, Frances Flinn Cano. Frances was married to the pharmacist Miguel Cano. Miguel owned several drugstores in Tucson (Tucson City Directory 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960). Eventually, Mónica bought her sister's share of the business for $50,000.

The City of Tucson, in 1969, purchased the property of her restaurant for only $50,000. According to Ray Flores, the lot was valued at $250,000. Mónica then established the restaurant in her family home. Today, Ray and Carlotta, (Mónica's niece), Flores operate El Charro Restaurant and Gift Shop. Their clientele is mostly Anglo and reflects the diversification of a business which has evolved from a predominately Hispanic customers to non-Hispanic clientele over the years (Flores, 1988; Waldringer, 1986). They also started a clothing store and restaurant La Bamba in 1987 (Flores, 1988). Ray is unsure of whether he wants his children to continue the family restaurant or clothing store. A link between businesses occurs between El Charro and El Mariachi Restaurant. The owners of El Mariachi, Manny and Gilbert Vélez, are cousins to Ray Flores. On occasion, the cousins will refer customers to each others restaurants.

Gloria Rodríguez is Treasurer of L.H. Rodríguez Seafoods and its subsidiary Gulf Seafoods (Rodríguez, 1987). The Rodríguez brothers came to Tucson in the 1940s from Douglas. They entered the seafood business as partners. Eventually, Levi bought his brother's share of the

partnership. Currently, Leviand his family are involved in running the firm.

The four local restaurants and retail stores are scattered throughout the Tucson area. Gulf Seafoods is based in California and markets its goods in San Diego and Los Angeles. Gloria prefers that her children enter another form of business, even though they work in the restaurant during the summer. She wants her children not to be obligated to the stores. Instead, Gloria wants her children to use their college education to enter other fields of business.

La Suprema Mexican Foods is run by the García family, who arrived in Tucson during the 1940s. Juanita García provided information on how the brothers started their business. One brother went on to operate his own restaurant, now being run by the Ojeda family. The other brother continued La Suprema and has been able to expand the operation. A business and family tie exists between the García family and one of their competitors, the Pesquiera family who operate Grande Tortilla Factory. La Suprema employs about a hundred workers and has a wide range of food items that are distributed to various communities not just in Tucson. In 1982, the sales for the years was $2.5 million (Hispanic Business, June, 1983). This establishes their diverse consumer share of the retail food market.

The firm is strictly a family oriented enterprise. The García family is heavily involved in the running of the firm. Some of the grandchildren are already working in the business (García, 1987). As third generation restaurateurs, the family is prepared to continue the business. This operation is definitely the exception to the pattern being set by other restaurants.

Construction

Mario and Albert Durazo are "latecomers" to Tucson. The Durazo family came from Douglas in the 1960s. The two brothers entered the construction field. They started Durazo Construction a few years ago. Another brother is involved in the business. As general contractors, their crew of employees perform various jobs pertaining to their trade, while specialty work is subcontracted. For a new company they have attained a good reputation in their field and are able to attract large revenue making contracts from non-minority centered jobs. However, it is too soon to establish whether the Durazo children will enter the firm, being that they are still too young.

Edward Tellez was working in the construction field before he started his own firm in the

1970s. Edward Tellez Masonry is a family oriented enterprise. Some of the Tellez family is involved in the running of the firm. The sons, Eddie, Danny and Sammy, as well as a son-in-law, Ronnie Badilla, work for the company. Sylvia Badilla, a daughter, is the bookkeeper. Another daughter, Gloria and her husband, Edward Martínez, are involved to some extent, in real estate in California, along with their regular occupations.

A variety of buildings throughout the Tucson area has been completed by the Tellez firm, ranging from churches to research laboratories. Even though his family is currently involved in the company, he is unsure of whether his grandchildren will enter the business, due to the grandchildren's young age. Some of the grandchildren may seek a higher level of education and/or other occupations. It is too soon to determine whether a trend of continuance will occur in this case beyond the owners' children.

SRC, INC. is operated by George and Sue Robles. This enterprise deals with renovation of buildings and is also involved in custom homes. They have worked on a various projects. Their current project will be the renovation of three U.S. embassies in Eastern Europe, including Moscow. As a result, they will leave the Tucson area for a year and will eventually return. None of the Robles children are involved in the business.

George is a descendant of a pioneer Hispanic family, the Robles. He entered the renovating business at the age of sixteen when his father, Carlos, located a house that was selling for $300 in the early 1950s. While in high school, George and his cousin, Richard Hughes, purchased this house. They restored the property and used their profits to acquire more houses. Currently, Richard Hughes is a real estate agent who handles some of SRC, Inc. properties.

Roberto Ruiz owns Maya Construction which he started in 1980 (Arizona Daily Star, April 17, 1988). He has offices in both Tucson and Phoenix. Ruiz is from Nogales, Sonora, Mexico and became a U.S. citizen in 1963. He graduated from the University of Arizona with a degree in civil engineering. In 1982, the total sales for Maya Construction was $4.7 million (Hispanic Business, June, 1983). By 1987, Maya Construction is the second largest Hispanic owned firm in Tucson with sales of over $20 million. It is unclear as to whether this firm will continue beyond the present owner.

Cosmetology, Beauty and Barber Shops

Marty Zamorano is the operator of Cara Mia, an institute of skin restoration and image renewal. Zamorano's ancestor, Juan Longoria, arrived in Tucson in 1910. Longoria was an artist who was commissioned by the Catholic Church to do some paintings for St. Augustine's Cathedral. Some of his work was destroyed during the renovation of the Cathedral in the 1960s (Zamarano, 1987). However, the family was able to save a few paintings.

Zamarano, is a Licensed Esthetician, whose business is related to the field of cosmetology. She is often referred to by physicians for treatment of patients suffering from various skin diseases. Her family will help her on occasion, however she operates the business by herself. Zamorano has encouraged her daughter to seek other opportunities. Marty's husband, Rene, is a businessman. He was one of the original partners in the Tucson Athletic Club (Zamorano, 1987). Currently, he operates a local disc jockey service.

Jannie's Beauty Shop is owned and operated by Jannie Galindo. Her shop has a continuing clientele that has made her business successful. In spite of this success, Galindo has not encouraged her daughters to enter this profession. A network system has developed between her establishment and another beauty salon, Hair by Ogie, by referring customers to each other. On occasion she will also refer customers who need construction work done, to her brothers. They operate García Brothers, Inc., a local contracting firm.

Henry and Elsa Paredes are both licensed barbers and owners of Henry's Barber Parlor. Both of their families arrived in Tucson during the 1930s and 1940s. Elsa's family, the Aceretos, have been involved in the barber business for two generations. Her brothers operate Acereto's Family Haircutters. The Paredes and Aceretos work closely together and often refer customers to each other. Although the family has continued in this business, the Paredes have discouraged their two daughters from entering their establishment (Paredes, Henry, 1987). Instead, Henry wants their daughters to attain a college education and eventually start their own business.

Elsa is a member of the League of Mexican American Women. This organization was founded in 1967 to provide scholarships to Hispanic college students. The League of Mexican American Women can be considered a mutual aid society. They sponsor fund raising activities throughout the

year. A network exists between these women that transfers over to their families and possibly to business activities. For example, some of the businesswomen that were interviewed in this study are now officeholders for the League. These connections through the League could be beneficial to their family operations.

Other Professionals

Carlos G. Robles, was the son of Bernabe Robles, the prominent rancher and businessman. Carlos was a highly intelligent and caring man. In 1929, he was the first Hispanic to graduate from the University of Arizona College of Law (Robles, Clementina, 1988). During the 1930s, he worked for the Pima County Defenders Office. Later, Robles established his own law practice.

Robles, throughout his life, always helped people. His involvement in real estate, made it possible for him to help his renters by not charging them rent if he felt that they could not afford to pay him that month (Robles, Clementina, 1988). He also encouraged Hispanic students to achieve a college education. Often, Robles would give money to Mexican American law students (Amado, Henry, 1987). When he passed away in 1980, some of those law students, who were now lawyers, remembered Robles for his generosity. These Hispanic lawyers formed the Carlos G. Robles Foundation in 1981 (Arizona Daily Star, October 26, 1983; Amado, Henry, 1987). This non-profit organization used the services of Henry Amado, the nephew to Clementina Amado Robles, to establish this status. The Foundation helps Hispanic law students attending the University of Arizona.

Macario Saldate's family has been in the Tucson area for approximately a hundred years. As the Director of the Mexican American Studies and Research Center, he has a sense of identifying not only with the Hispanic community but all of Tucson. As a result, he perceived the need for another Spanish language radio station. In 1984, some prominent Mexican American investors, including Saldate, started KQTL Radio. The major investors are Ernesto Portillo, a local newspaper columnist, and Diego Valenzuela, proprietor of Gordo's Mexicateria, a Mexican food restaurant. The success of KQTL Radio depends on both the financial support from advertisers (Hispanic and non-Hispanic) as well as a Spanish speaking audience.

Saldate is also a member of "HPAC," which is the Hispanic Professional Action Committee. This organization consists of professionals involved in Hispanic affairs. It was formed in 1973 as a

political action committee, but has since evolved into a business oriented group. The goal of this group is to provide support for Hispanic business owners by working as a business unit and develop the Mexican American community economically by providing an economic base. Although a few of its members have political inspirations, HPAC has taken a neutral stance.

Henry Amado is a descendant of Manuel Amado, the rancher who settled here in the 1850s. Radakovich & Amado, P.C., an accounting firm, is only one of Henry's business interests. Amado is involved in three other businesses, his partners are all Anglo. In Radakovich & Amado, P.C., Amado is partners with Don Radakovich and Jeff Stevenson. As a certified public accountant, he has applied his knowledge of business operations to his other interests. These firms are Pant Palace, Inc., Putt-Around, and RSVP Marketing Incorporated.

Amado's close friend and business associate in the other enterprises is Bill Clements. Clements currently is involved in twenty two businesses, including these three. Pant Palace, Inc., is a clothing chain and a national distributor of imported clothing. Putt-Around, which was formed in 1987, is a company that is marketing nationally a newly designed golf club. RSVP Marketing Inc., also formed in 1987, has already been approved to market nationally the ValuRack. The concept is to provide coupons of businesses located near convenience stores. Amado's partners for this enterprise are Bill Clements, Lou Parrish and Tim Backert.

CONCLUSION

Since 1854, both the population of Tucson and the business community have evolved from a rural agricultural economic society to a highly diversified technological environment. This change in the economy has created a change in the type of Hispanic business ownership. During territorial Tucson, ranching and agriculture were the main forms of business. A few Hispanic families operated sizable ranches and were able to diversify into other sectors of the economy. However, the Hispanic businessman became the minority in the business community of Tucson by the twentieth century.

As the Hispanic community became integrated with American society, Mexican Americans participated in the business world by providing mostly service oriented establishments. These firms may have catered mostly to their minority community. Few professionals could be documented in the city directories in the early part of the twentieth century.

Starting in the 1940s, Tucson started to expand and the demand for labor grew as new businesses were formed. Hispanics have become the needed labor for the economy of Tucson. The opportunity for success in other fields has attracted Hispanics to leave their family business and work for others. As a result, the rate for new Hispanic businesses is increasing while the rate for continuing Mexican American enterprises is low. A pattern is developing in the Hispanic business community. Most existing Hispanic establishments will be replaced by recent arrivals to Tucson.

The economic impact on the Mexican American community will be of continual change with little progression. More Hispanics are seeking and attaining a higher level of education but are joining companies rather than forming their own establishment. The result will be more highly trained Hispanics who are integrated in the American business world and few Mexican American firms continuing to operate in the same family.

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